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MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1921

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PERIODICALS SUPPORTING THE CAUSE OF THE CLASSICS

Every teacher of the Classics ought to be aware of the fact that, in the United States, the two main repositories of the work of productive scholarship in the field of the Classics are the American Journal of Philology and Classical Philology. He should know also that the American Journal of Philology is published at The Johns Hopkins University and that it is now in its forty-second year. For forty long years of its life, its Editor, the Dean of American Classical scholars, was Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve. It is edited now by Professor C. W. E. Miller, assisted by a number of members of the Departments of Oriental Languages, Greek, and Latin of The Johns Hopkins University.

Classical Philology, published at the University of Chicago, is now in its sixteenth year. For the first two years its Editor-in-Chief was Professor Edward Capps, then at the University of Chicago, but since 1908 at Princeton University. Professor Capps was succeeded, in the direction of Classical Philology, by Professor Paul Shorey.

At another time I shall have something to say of other repositories of scholarly articles, such as the Bulletins and Studies published under the auspices of various American Universities.

Every teacher ought to know also The Classical Journal and THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. In theory and in practice, they are devoted more to the pedagogy of the Classics, or to propaganda in support of the Classics, than to research proper in the field of the Classics. Both periodicals, however, have published many articles which, while they did not perhaps advance the bounds of knowledge in a given field, have been of real service by putting together, in an easy and readable form, information on important matters within the classical field. Many of the reviews in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY have certainly been distinct contributions to the subjects treated by the books under review. The Classical Journal, now in its seventeenth year, is edited at present by Professor Frank J. Miller, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Arthur T. Walker, of the University of Kansas. For the first six years, the Managing Editor of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY was Professor Gonzalez Lodge, of Teachers' College; for the remaining volumes the Managing Editor has been Professor Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, Columbia University.

It may be noted that the University of Chicago Press published, in 1919, a General Index, By Con-

tributors and Subjects, to The Classical Journal, Volumes I - XIII (1905-1918). The Index was compiled by Professor Frank J. Miller. Each volume of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY has an elaborate Index. Besides it is possible to obtain, from the Managing Editor, copies of two pamphlets, one of which groups by subjects (Value of the Classics, Teaching of the Classics, Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, etc.) titles of articles in Volumes I - IX; the other groups similarly titles in Volumes X - XIII.

The foregoing facts have been set down, not for themselves, but rather by way of introduction to what is to follow. It seems worth while to put together a brief notice of other means which, at different Schools, Colleges, and Universities, are being employed as ministrants to the better teaching of the Classics, and as a stimulant toward a deeper and more intelligent interest in them.

The High School Journal, which is published monthly by the School of Education of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, contains in each issue what is known as The Latin Column. Sometimes the "column" covers a couple of pages. In the issue for April, 1920, for instance, there were two items, one of half a column, entitled A Carolina Latin Paper, the other an item covering two and a half columns, entitled The Classics in British Education (an account of the pamphlet noticed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.105-106). In the former article mention was made of a publication, in English, called The Latin Bulletin, to appear five times a year, under the auspices of The Mantuan Club of Juniors and Seniors in the High School at Ashville, North Carolina.

The first issue of this Latin Bulletin contained two papers by students, one entitled The Need of the Classics, the other entitled De Roma Aeterna, a Latin version of the Star Spangled Banner. There were also some translations of pieces of Vergil.

In Volume 2, No. 1 there is a statement of the way in which the students of the School are organized into various Classical Clubs. The students of the four uppermost classes are organized into The Mantuan Club, the Caesar Classes into a Club known as the Legio Decima. Other students are brought together into the Societas Latina. Among the things in this number are articles by students, in English, given sometimes in full, sometimes only in part. The themes treated include Ceyx and Halcyone, Virgil's Contemporaries, Travelers in Old Roman Days, Why We Should Study Latin, Roman Meals, Children and Education. This number contains 12 pages.

In the Sidney Lanier High School at Montgomery, Alabama, there was begun, in November, 1919, a periodical entitled *Forum Romanum*. Four numbers of this periodical have come into my hands, for November, 1919, January, February, and March, 1920. Each number contains four pages; every part of the number, except the advertisements, is in Latin. The periodical is under the management of members of the Senior class of the School. The contents include little essays about the School life, notes and suggestions of various sorts, attempts to put into Latin matters of public interest (such as the announcement that General Pershing was to visit Montgomery), reference to Red Cross drives, etc. The contributors deserve much praise for their energy, but their Latin leaves a tremendous lot to be desired. Mistakes in the Latin, however, by their very number and magnitude, show clearly that the students are conducting the paper themselves, and that it is not in any sense their teachers' product.

Miss Louise Berrey, head of the Department of Latin at this School, wrote me, in March, 1920, as follows:

The purpose of the *Forum Romanum* has been not only to stimulate an interest in Latin, but also to get people with what might be called an aversion for Latin prose to feel and appreciate the simple case relations, for example, dative and accusative. . . . We know there are many mistakes, both in choice of words and in constructions, but somehow we feel that the purpose of the paper has been achieved. There is much more interest in prose than ever before. Let me say, too, that every article is the effort of some high school child. . . . The two stories, *Duo Amici* and *Regina Bona Russiae*, were written by two first year students after four months of study of the language.

In November, 1919, the Classical Club of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, began the publication of an eight-page leaflet called *Forum Latinum*. Volume 2, No. 4 was published in February, 1921. In this I find the interesting statement that the *Forum Latinum* had reached a circulation of 1,800 copies. This issue contains also a statement, by the way, to the effect that for the term beginning in February, 1921, there was, in the Boys' High School, an increase of about 15% in the number of students beginning Latin. In the fifth term, Latin is elective in this School; yet there was last year an increase of over 20% in the number of students in that term. The Vergil classes showed an increase of about 10%.

The paper is under the editorial direction of the students themselves. They have the assistance, however, of one or more Faculty advisers. The contents of each number are partly in English, partly in Latin. The Latin contents of the first number contained a *Colloquium Auditum in Sala Prandii*; an up-to-date version of Cicero, Cat. 1. 1 (a student is asked to explain why he continues to use a 'horse'); odds and ends of humor; a Latin version of America; a statement that Dr. Riess, who is Head of the Department

of Classics at the Boys' High School, would like to meet students interested in antiquities, for the purpose of forming groups to visit the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to study ancient life directly from the original monuments and casts; a list of Latin verbs, with their meanings, part of the vocabulary of second term Latin.

Later numbers show the same combination of English and Latin. An interesting feature in those numbers is the presence of illustrations. Some of these are reproductions of ancient things; others are cartoons (parodies of ancient matter). To the former class belongs the reproduction of the graffito which represents an ass or a donkey and a mill, beneath which are the Latin words, *Labora, aselle, quomodo ego laboravi, et proderit tibi*. An excellent feature is the publication from time to time of paragraphs from classical authors. One such paragraph is entitled *Caesar*, a Pen Portrait (Suetonius's account of Caesar's physical appearance and of certain of his habits and characteristics). Again, in Volume 1, No. 3, the account of the Werwolf in Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 61-62, is reprinted, with notes that help to understanding of the text.

Volume 2, No. 4, dated February, 1921, contains on its front cover a cut of the ruins of the Coliseum. On page 6, there are given, from ancient sources, representations of a Roman barber at work, a Roman razor, and a Roman headdress. There is a page which seems to me a waste of good ink and paper, containing alleged cartoons and alleged Latin under the caption *Ku Klux Klan*. There are Latin jokes, Latin riddles, Roman colloquial expressions, an *Oratio Magna Marci Antoni*, and allied matters.

(To be concluded)

C. K.

VIRGILIAN DETERMINISM

In an interestingly written article entitled *Epicurean Determinism in the Aeneid*¹ Professor Tenney Frank has attempted to show that the early Epicurean studies and associations of Vergil's youth were not followed, as most modern scholars have held, by a conversion to Stoicism, but continued unchanged, appearing in definite outcroppings all through the *Aeneid*. So plausible appears the argumentation, but yet, in my opinion, so mistaken are its premises and its results that it seems worth while to reexamine the points raised by the article in its divergence from the accepted view.²

After a résumé of Vergil's early philosophical training and beliefs the thesis is advanced (116) that the eschatology of *Aeneid* 6 (which, according to Profes-

¹American Journal of Philology 41 (1920), 115-126.

²I shall follow, as nearly as practicable, the order of the article under discussion.

sor Frank, has furnished the chief reason for supposing that Vergil in his maturity rejected Epicureanism for Stoicism)

was adopted as a *mythos* for purposes of plot, and that the poet continued, while writing the Aeneid, in the faith which he had avowed with enthusiasm in the Eclogues and Georgics.

But where is this enthusiastic confession of faith found? On page 115 we are referred to Ecl. 6.31-32 *namque caneat uti magnum per inane coacta semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent*, etc., a passage of very evident atomistic character. But before using this passage as evidence for the views of Vergil himself one must settle the very vexed question of the meaning of the whole poem. Servius (whom elsewhere Professor Frank delights to honor) remarks on verse 72: *hoc Euphorionis continent carmina quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem Latinum*. From this comment Skutsch wished to find in the various songs of Silenus a summary of the works of Gallus, while Cartault suggested that Vergil was here giving a résumé of his readings and studies¹. These views (and others) may be wrong, but, until the true explanation of the poem is established, this passage cannot safely be adduced to show Vergil's own belief. Other Epicurean traces in the Eclogues I have not been able to find². On the contrary, there is distinct disapproval felt³ for the rival lover who supposes the gods indifferent to human actions. And if two references to deification (5.56 ff.; 8.46 ff.) be dismissed as mere poetic imagery (together with the list of omens in Georg. 1.463 ff.), what shall we do with the philosophy of the Fourth Eclogue (about which Professor Frank is discreetly silent), with its doctrine of secular repetition and the Golden Age, of sin, and of Fate (46 f.)?

Or let us turn to the Georgics. The only Epicurean passage here cited (page 118) is 2.490 ff.: *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*, etc. This is undoubtedly, as all editors have recognized from its thought and Lucretian phraseology, a tribute either to Lucretius (whose works Vergil certainly knew, admired, and imitated) or to some other Epicurean, perhaps, as Professor Frank seems to hold, to Epicurus himself. But we must not forget how Vergil after these lines of laudation continues (2.493 ff.): *fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis Panaeque Silvanumque senem nymphasque sorores*. The life of this religiously-minded⁴ countryman, here set in as sharp antithesis to that of the sceptical scientist as that even today at times expressed between 'faith' and 'science' (to the disparagement of the latter), approaches most closely, as Vergil is careful to tell us (2.532 ff.), to that

of the Golden Age⁵, and is distinguished by just those characteristics which have made Rome great. Even Professor Frank admits (125) that Georg. 1.231-251 has a Stoic coloring, but he says that the passage is not inconsistent with Vergil's Epicurean views⁶. The passage in 4.218 ff. (*his quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus aetherios dixere, deum namque ire per omnia*, etc.) certainly suggests Aen. 6.724 ff. (with the words *spiritus intus alit*), and, though ascribed to *quidam* rather than vouched for by the poet, is apparently not felt to merit refutation⁷. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice (4.467 ff.), even if it prove nothing in regard to Vergil's own beliefs about the next world, at least contains no hint of Epicureanism. And if any reference to the gods and their influence upon human affairs found anywhere in classical Latin poetry bears the mark of sincerity, it is the address to the *di patrii indigetes* in 1.498 ff. I have dwelt upon these passages in the Eclogues and the Georgics, not because Professor Frank deals particularly with those works, but because I feel that his assumption in regard to them is wrong and also because from them we get a fairer idea of what to expect when we approach the Aeneid.

The appeal of Epicureanism was, we are told (116 f.), that, while it kept its feet upon the ground, it brought "a gospel of illumination to a race eager for light, opening vistas into an infinity of worlds", etc. But, if this be advanced as a reason for its appeal to the poetic nature of Vergil, it must appear remarkable that he made so little use of his opportunity to set forth its teachings. The instances which Professor Frank cites (118) are two passages already discussed (Ecl. 6.31 ff.; Georg. 2.490 ff.) and the song of Iopas at the banquet of Dido (Aen. 1.740). Iopas sings, to be sure, a song of creation, but it contains absolutely no cosmic doctrine, either Epicurean or Stoic.

The Epicurean "phrases and notions" which are cited (118) from the Aeneid seem more convincing in the adapted phraseology here given them than in their original context and wording. Thus, according to Professor Frank, "the atoms of fire are struck out of the flint" in Aen. 6.6; yet the Latin gives no trace of 'atoms', but reads *semina flammae*, which seems a pretty close imitation of Od. 5.490 *σπέρμα πυρός*. Truly we must beware lest we make Homer an Epicurean!⁸ Again, says Professor Frank, "atoms of light are emitted from the sun", but the atomism becomes more evanescent than an Epicurean *εἰδωλον* if we turn to the Latin of the passages adduced (Aen. 7.526 f. *aeraque fulgent sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant*; 8.22 ff. *ubi lumen aenis sole repercusso aut radiantis imagine lunae omnia pervolitat*,

¹For these and other views see Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 2, 1^a, 45 f. (1911).

²Unless *q. s.* *quoniam Fors omnia versat*, be stressed. But these words express a natural and doubtless temporary emotion of the evicted Moeris, and surely not the feeling of the poet himself.

³8.35. ⁴2.527 ff. Compare also 2.473 f., and, for the attitude toward holy days, 1.268 ff. Sacrifices are prescribed (e. g. 1.338) and the paying of vows is assumed (1.437).

⁵For other traces of cyclic theory compare 1.121 ff.

⁶Yet what are we to say of 1.238, *munere concessae divom?* And Jupiter is elsewhere (1.353 ff.; 4.149) made the cause of phenomena in a manner unlike that of Epicureanism.

⁷In Georgics 1.415 Vergil takes a different view of the spirit within lower animals, but did not even the Stoics the same? Compare Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.118.

⁸For this danger compare Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.41.

etc.). In 8.320¹¹, Professor Frank maintains, "early men were born duro robore and lived like those described in the fifth book of Lucretius" (presumably Lucr. 5.1281 ff.), but, although there is likeness between Vergil and Lucretius, the former contains at this point nothing to which the most rigid Stoic need have objected. "... there are still compliments for Memmius (V, 117)", but lines 117 ff. merely designate Mnesteus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus as the ancestors of the Memmii, the Sergii, and the Cluentii, and the motive for this allusion is quite in keeping with similar aetiological details elsewhere in the poem and need carry no trace of Epicurean allusion¹². Professor Frank quotes the statement of Conington that there are nearly two hundred reminiscences of Lucretius in the Aeneid, and that the reminiscences increase in frequency in the later books. But studies subsequent to those of Conington encourage us to look to Ennius as the real source of many passages where identity is found between Lucretius and Vergil¹³, and where borrowings from Lucretius do undeniably occur they are, in the main, those of phraseology rather than of content.

More important is the test of Vergil's philosophy which depends upon his interpretation of fate¹⁴. Professor Frank writes (119):

Determinism was accepted by both schools but with a difference. To the Stoic, *fatum* is a synonym of providence whose popular name is Zeus. The Epicurean also accepts *fatum* as governing the universe, but it is not teleological, and Zeus is not identified with it but is, like man, subordinated to it... If then Vergil were a Stoic, his Jupiter should be omnipotent and omniscient and the embodiment of *fatum*, and his human characters must be represented as devoid of independent power: but such ideas are not found in the Aeneid.

With this definition of what Stoics should have believed let us contrast an ancient statement of what they did believe: Comm. in Luc. 2.306 (=Stoicorum

Veterum Fragmenta 2, No. 924): et hoc secundum Stoicos qui omnia dicunt fato regi et semel constituta nec a numinibus posse mutari¹⁵. If the ancient passage be correct, it is unnecessary even to discuss the instances from the Aeneid cited by Professor Frank, on pages 119 f., to illustrate the supremacy of fate over the gods, for this is exactly what we ought to find: hence why should we be surprised when we find it? The difficulty really lies, not with Vergil or even with Stoicism, but with the inherent difficulties in the age-long problem of impersonal determinism, divine will, and human freedom, a puzzle too serious for philosophers far more subtle than was Vergil¹⁶. Again, some stress is laid (120) upon passages implying the power of the individual to thwart fate (1.299 ff.; 5.700 ff.), but Professor Frank allows even to the Stoics a slight degree of freedom of action (119), and it will be noticed that, in all the passages which he here cites¹⁷, though Vergil may perhaps assert the power of individual choice, yet the action which ensues is strictly in accord with fate, and Jupiter cooperates in executing the decisions of fate. I cannot feel, then, that "The Stoic hypothesis seems to break down completely in such passages".

Still less when I read the Aeneid as a whole, with the evident and inevitable march of its events, can I dismiss all teleological notions. The opening lines alone, which, if any, should express the purpose and the character of the work, indicate this in unforgettable phrases—*fato profugus*; *vi superum*; *dumcon deret urbem*; *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*. If there is no teleology here, where, pray, are we to look for it?

But Professor Frank tells us (121) that, the moment that Aeneas was selected as the hero of the poem, it became necessary to take, along with him, the machinery of the Olympian gods; Vergil was too conscientious in his attempts to restore the atmosphere of the heroic age to dispense with these otherwise unwelcome encumbrances. Book 6, furthermore, was inserted "because the poet needed for his own purposes a vision of incorporated souls of Roman heroes" (123). True, but why did Vergil need this vision, if not to enhance the reader's realization of the divinely ordained and guided continuity and purpose of the Roman race? To say that Book 6 is syncretistic and not purely Stoic in its philosophy is perhaps also true; it doubtless does not exhibit the Stoicism of Zeno nor yet that of Chrysippus; but Stoicism had had many forms,

¹¹So cited; better, 314 ff.

¹²Three cases cited in 118, n. 6 prove little or nothing; two of them are quoted incompletely, the second being so curtailed as to distort the sense.

¹³See especially Wreschnick, *De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907); Norden, *Aeneis*, Buch VI², 371 (1916).

¹⁴The word *fatum* occurs in Lucretius five times, *fatalis* once (according to Paulson, *Index Lucretianus* [1911], in a total of 7,415 lines; in Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* (12,913 lines) *fatum* is found 134 times, *fatalis* 12 (according to Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus* [1911]). This gives a total for the two words in Vergil of 146 as contrasted with the six cases in Lucretius. If the occurrences in Lucretius were proportional in frequency to those in Vergil we ought, in 7,415 lines, to expect 84 references instead of six. It should be further noted that Lucretius is a philosophical poet arguing against fate, while Vergil is merely an epic poet, who would, in ordinary circumstances, be less likely to deal in such conceptions unless particularly interested in them by reason of his own beliefs or experience. So great frequency in Vergil ought of itself, then, to arouse the suspicion that Vergil had more than an Epicurean interest in fate. Professor Frank holds, however, that many occurrences of the word in Vergil have no philosophical meaning (120, n. 10). This is doubtless true: yet who will determine in a particular case? In 4.696 *quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat*, he would interpret the passage philosophically, of Dido's thwarting the fates by her suicide, while Henry and Conington—non sordidi auctores naturae verique—take *fato* in a "practical rather than a philosophical sense", of a "natural death", as opposed to an untimely death. Truly the private interpretation of scripture has its dangers! If a philosophical interpretation, however, be sought at this point, the *Scholia Danielis* will furnish one sufficiently subtle.

¹⁵Compare also Servius on Aeneid 1.357 (=Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta 2, No. 923): et simul per transitum Stoicorum dogma ostendit, nulla ratione posse fata mutari; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 199 ff. (1911).

¹⁶The discussion of the use of *omnipotens* (119) is inconclusive. Professor Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, cites eighteen instances where it refers to Jupiter (to which we should perhaps add two where it refers to Olympus) and two referring to Juno. I find some clearly referring to Apollo. In any case, as Professor Frank himself admits, the meaning of the term may be more or less relative, and no sound argument, I think, can be based upon it.

¹⁷Except 4.696, which I have discussed above, in note 14.

and a follower of Posidonius would, I believe, in Vergil's day have qualified pretty well for membership in the Stoic household of faith.

But, Book 6 is, for Professor Frank, a mere *mythos* like Plato's *mythos* of Er. The Epicureans, he says, allowed their poets much freedom in the use of heterodox material (125), as we may learn from Lucretius (2.655). But the purely figurative use there sanctioned and the largely decorative lines of Lucr. 5.737 are far removed from the serious character of Aeneid 6. Nor is it quite correct to speak (126) of the "blunt statement of Servius (on VI, 893) that the portal of unreal dreams refers the imagery of the sixth book to fiction", for Servius's note gives several confused and inconsistent suggestions. I believe, with Norden¹⁸, that the correct explanation of the ivory gate is that given by the late William Everett¹⁹, and that its significance is primarily temporal, indicating that Aeneas left the underworld before midnight²⁰. Though there is doubtless much, then, in Book 6 which is not to be taken as the exact and dogmatic belief of Vergil (as the eschatology of Plato's Phaedo was not considered by its author as precise and definite), yet we are unjustified in explaining the whole book away as a mere fiction of the literary imagination.

Professor Frank says little or nothing of the character of Aeneas. It is a large subject and need not here be discussed save to say that perhaps nowhere in Roman imaginative literature have we a better incarnation of the Stoic ideal, in which both the virtues and the defects of that conception are fully illustrated. This is to be seen at every turn, but particularly in Book 4. The mere mention of a few phrases is enough: *ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat* (331-332); *me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas*, etc. (340-341); *Italiam non sponte sequor* (361); *tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas; mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes* (448-449)²¹. It would be tempting to contrast Dido with Aeneas and to find in her the embodiment of Epicurean ideals, but I do not desire at this time to press this point.

Vergil deliberately selected, then, in the composition of the Aeneid, a theme inseparably entangled with the idea of a purposeful, divinely appointed destiny, and depicted his hero as a typical Stoic might well have been shown. That one who was an Epicurean at heart might have selected such a theme and so treated it is, of course, a physical possibility, just as it is possible that a Unitarian might choose as the subject of a great poem the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but the opposite probabilities are so overwhelming that an uncommon burden of proof rests

upon him who would reverse the accepted interpretation.

Other Romans had been Epicureans and had later rejected the faith—witness the case of Cicero²²—, and if we read the philosophical works of Cicero we may get some idea of why they did so. What Vergil's motives for the change were we may only infer. The part, however, which he seems to have played in the religious restoration under Augustus agrees more exactly with the figure of a Stoic than with that of an Epicurean²³. Donatus remarks (*Vita*, 35): *anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo inpositurus Aeneidi summam manum statuit in Graeciam et in Asiam secedere triennioque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare, ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret*. What philosophy? A return to the villula Sironis, Professor Frank would probably say. But may we not more probably conjecture that it was to a further study of Stoicism, perhaps in the endeavor to work out more completely the problems of fate and eschatology which are, after all, so roughly sketched in the Aeneid?

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

REVIEW

Solon the Athenian. By Ivan M. Linforth. University of California Publications in Classical Philology 6. 1-318. November, 1919.

This book, says the author (iii), "falls into two distinct parts, a biography of Solon and an edition of the fragments of his poems". He should perhaps have said three parts, if the dictum attributed to Professor Kittredge is accepted, "Anyone can write a book; it takes a scholar to write an article", since Professor Linforth's well printed volume contains also nine Appendices. And, seeing that the edition is copiously annotated and accompanied by an opposite page translation into English, it puts into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon reader, whether he knows Greek or not, an easy means to form his own impression of the work and the ideas of the thoughtful poet whom Lord Acton calls "the most profound political genius of antiquity". That is a substantial service.

Professor Linforth arranges the fragments according to the epoch of the ancient authors through whose quotation of them they have reached us, including in each instance the accompanying comment, where any exists. This has the obvious drawback of disassociating parts of the same poem, while there is not much that is positive to commend it. It has the negative advantage, however, of enabling the editor to print the fragments on some principle, and with their non-Solonian context, without having to combine them

¹⁸For Horace's later rapprochement with Stoicism see Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 389.

²²Compare Boissier, *Le Religion Romaine*, 1.221 ff. (1900). He gives a detailed and excellent treatment of the theology of Vergil. In the present article, I have, from limits of space, confined myself chiefly to the points directly raised by Professor Frank. On page 230, note 1, Boissier has some pertinent remarks directed against those who have tried to find in the Aeneid the traces of Epicureanism.

¹⁹Aeneis, Buch VI³, 348. 53 f.

²⁰The Classical Review 14 (1900).

²¹Just as the entrance took place at dawn (255), and midday was reached at verses 535 f.

²²Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 391, remarks that this last line sums up the whole ethics of Stoicism.

with one another in oftentimes dubious wholes. The text calls for little comment. One conjecture the editor himself offers—with commendable modesty—the substitution of *μαλωραι* for the manuscript reading *μα δωιν* in Frag. XL, 111. Seeing that Krates in his parody of the poem uses this word (*μαιδμενος*) and that the manuscript reading does not make sense, Professor Linforth may be right. The out about it is that one does not see how such corruption of the original text as Professor Linforth's conjecture involves could have occurred, since a marginal gloss does not ordinarily yield us an unintelligible word. The translation runs smoothly enough and can be read with comprehension by one unacquainted with the language of the original. It does not have the supreme excellence of stylistic equivalence, but this, as Tacitus says of the mixed constitution, *laudari facilius quam evenire potest*.

Towards the literary sources of Solon's life and work Professor Linforth's attitude is that they have in fact little value when uncorroborated by Solon's own words. He, accordingly, shares the critical standpoint of Beloch and his school, and differs from them mainly in refraining from offering a theory of his own for the one he discards. Two quotations, from pages 4 and 6, show his attitude:

... We certainly cannot push back the possibility of a written record of any sort about Solon beyond the middle of the fifth century B. C. at the earliest; but Solon himself lived in the first half of the sixth century... we can accept little besides what we know was learned from the poems and the official records.

Professor Linforth believes that there was a well recognized collection of poems by Solon in the first half of the fifth century B. C.; he holds that the life of Solon was known by the ancients and can be known by us only through his poems.

This postulated, the real difficulty in dealing with Solon is to determine how much of what the ancient tradition hands on to us is based upon poems lost in postclassical times, how much is based upon laws of Solon which were still known, though already in Aristotle's time they were no longer used, and how much is pure legend—stuff that belongs to the cycle of the Seven Wise Men and the constitutional controversies of Athens and the schools of philosophy. Professor Linforth makes his course safer by avoiding the shallows of probabilities, but in science, as in life, a resolute balancing of probabilities is always necessary.

Naturally the poems of Solon did not contain a draft of Solon's constitution: this he could assume that the Athenians to whom he addressed his verses knew from other sources. Inferences from Solon's own words, therefore, cannot in the nature of the case yield the plan of government he inaugurated—as Aristotle reveals to our sorrow. And the weakness of Aristotle's *Polity of the Athenians* is also a signal weakness of Professor Linforth's book. We have in

it no synthesis of Solon's constitutional work. Had Professor Linforth thought out more cogently the implications of the isolated facts we possess regarding the public law of Athens before and after Solon, he would perhaps have spared us his suggestion as to the means employed by Solon for <re> gaining Salamis. If the Athenian hoplites had failed in the war with Megara over the island, there is little likelihood that 500 men "of the lower classes", "little better than serfs", however great their inducements, would have changed the military balance. Such volunteers must have been worse than useless in a struggle against trained heavy-armed troops.

Of the nine Appendices the least satisfactory is Appendix 4—The Laws and the Axones. It should have started with the definitions reached by Wilhelm in his *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, 229 ff., Über die Öffentliche Aufzeichnung von Urkunden, and should have taken account of the distinction between *νόμοι* and *ψηφίσματα*, drawn clearly e. g. by Francotte, *Mélanges de Droit Public Grec*, 1 ff. It is of some importance in this connection that the Athenian *ecclesia* at all times lacked legislative powers. The *νόμοι* were not so easily changed in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. as Professor Linforth thinks. Professor Linforth does not indeed follow Beloch and De Sanctis in making Draco a serpent god; but he leaves to Draco the rôle of formulating laws regarding homicide alone, so that "it remained for Solon to draw up a genuine code and earn the name of father of Athenian laws (Plat. *Symp.* 209 d)".

That there is room for uncertainty here must be admitted. Aristotle, for example, in his first draft of the *Polity of the Athenians*, attributed to the thesmothetes the writing out and publishing of the laws. Draco was apparently overlooked and the code given to Solon. On interpolating his mass of misinformation about Draco, however, Aristotle made the latter the first legislator. It seems to me probable that, if Draco issued instructions for magistrates and other organs of government to guide them in handling cases of homicide, he issued instructions for them in other matters as well. He thus was the first to issue in written form a law code: the thesmothetes in earlier days had simply 'determined, for the guidance and control of the king, polemarch', and archon, the customs by which these magistrates rendered decisions. Solon recast the State by issuing laws "which", as he himself claimed, "showed equal consideration for the upper and lower classes, and provided a fair administration of justice for every individual" (so Professor Linforth translates the words of Solon).

Professor Linforth's book is a good honest scientific effort, vigorous in style and penetrating in analysis, that falls short of highest distinction through distrust of the constructive imagination and a certain impatience with finespun arguments.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

W. S. FERGUSON

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB.

The New York Classical Club held its final meeting for the year 1920-1921 on May 7, at the Metropolitan Museum. After the reports of officers and of chairmen of various committees had been presented, the following officers for 1921-1922 were unanimously elected: President, Dr. A. A. Bryant, De Witt Clinton High School, Vice-President, Professor Jane Gray Carter, Hunter College, Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. George H. Beal, De Witt Clinton High School, Censor, Miss Margaret Y. Henry, Wadleigh High School.

Dr. Clarence Dickinson, Choir Master and Organist of the Brick Presbyterian Church and of Union Theological Seminary, delivered a fascinating discourse on Our Musical Heritage from Greece. The address was enlivened by illustrations both pictorial and musical, the latter in the form of songs by Miss Josephine Garrett, accompanied on the harp by Miss Marietta Bitter. The musical selections, which served as illustrations of the various Greek scales or 'modes', included two hymns to Apollo, a melody on the familiar Carpe Diem theme, preserved through an inscription on a tomb of the first century after Christ, and an ode to Calliope, of a century or so later. Of this ode to Calliope an ancient Roman transcription was discovered, by the father of Galileo, in a manuscript. Dr. Dickinson then traced the development of the modern organ from the old pipes of Pan. The simple syrinx was early followed by a double flute. Then appeared pipes not blown, but provided with bellows trodden by a slave—in other words, a small portable organ. Pagan antiquity also knew water organs and pneumatic organs; but the prototype of the organ of to-day is supposed to have been the invention of St. Cecilia, and was very common in early Christian Churches.

Organs of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance included the small Portative, often carried in processions, and the Positive, which differed from the Portative in that it was kept in a fixed position. A special form of Portative, which was used to regulate the choir, was known as the Regal; when made in the form of a book, it was called the Bible Regal. Particularly interesting is the development of the keys, which were originally so large that they had to be beaten with the fists; of the stops, by which the sound, at first overwhelmingly loud, might be modulated; and of the pedals, including the 'thunder pedal'. As Dr. Dickinson said in conclusion, the organ of to-day is but a giant syrinx.

At luncheon, a vote of thanks was tendered to the retiring officers; the thanks of the Club, expressed in Latin, as presented by Professor Knapp, were voted to Mr. Dickinson, and to the Misses Garrett and Winter; Mrs. McGiffert read several of her poems, of classical content; and, finally, Professors Whicher and McCrea, soon to depart for Rome to take up their duties at the American Academy there, addressed the Club, after which resolutions of greetings to them in Latin, prepared by Professor Knapp, were passed.

The Latin resolutions are as follows:

DICKINSONIO SUO, VIRO ILLUSTRISSIMO, DOMINELLIS
GARRETT ET WINTER, S. P. D. SOCIETAS CLAS-
SICA NEOEBORACENSIS

Quod nostrum omnium ad unum unamque et aures et mentes tantopere delectarunt Dominus ille Dickinsonius verbis scitissimis eruditissimisque de rebus musicis a temporibus antiquis usque ad nostra tractatis, Dominella Garrett carminibus Graecis voce canora reddit, Dominella Bitter lyra hodierna peritissime percussa, nos igitur eis non modo gratias habemus, sed etiam, quantum verba mera possunt, gratias maximas agimus et persolvimus.

ET WHICHER ET MCCREA SUIS, QUONDAM PRAESIDIBUS, SEMPER AMICIS, S. P. D. SOCIETAS CLASSICA NEOEBORACENSIS

Sic vos diva potens Cypri, sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, ventorumque regat pater, obstrictis allis praeter Iapyga, navis, quae tibi creditos debes finibus Italicis nostros amicos, incolumes eos, precamur, reddas nobis ad patriam nostram eorumque, ut iterum iterumque eos salvos sospitesque apud conventus nostros videamus audiamusque.

HUNTER COLLEGE

E. ADELAIDE HAHN

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES

The meeting of The Classical Association of England and Wales, in which the American Philological Association had been invited to share, took place at Cambridge, August 2-6. After a welcome by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, and a greeting from the American Philological Association, presented by Professor Charles Foster Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, and the reading of a message from Dean West, on behalf of the American Classical League, Dr. Walter Leaf gave his Presidential Address. His subject was Classics and Realities, a theme on which no one is better qualified to speak than Dr. Leaf himself, equally eminent as banker and as scholar. He referred, at the outset, to a very successful commercial company in London, of whose four directors three are ex-Fellows of Trinity College. He said that the nadir of education in England was reached at a meeting at Burlington House during the Great War, when it was declared that nothing but science—poison-gas, fats, etc.—could win the war, and there was much jeering at a statesman who did not know the origin of glycerine. This was a conspicuous instance of herd-instinct. But there was now a reaction from that view, shown e. g. by the Report of the Prime Minister's Committee on Classics in Education. It was very interesting to see in the Report evidence of a demand for the Classics and classical education coming from the 'workers' themselves. The Classics must cease to be a luxury; they must become a necessity; and must have nothing to do with the 'classes'. The power of putting one's self in the other man's place is the secret of dealing with men. Classical training is needed, especially when the man speaks another language. The demand for men who can be trusted to negotiate with men in other languages is unlimited. Premature specialization is a mistake. Dr. Leaf said he took as his text a statement on page 11 of the Report referred to above: "There is no safe foundation for the continued life of any study except a spontaneous and widespread curiosity". There is need of a curiosity which compels men to go on adding to the sum of human knowledge; therefore we must insist that our study shall have its place among the others. Historical science is most important. Included within the scope of that science are the Classics, which deal with a moment when the power of self-expression was almost abnormally present. They are no mere offshoot, but are in the direct line of human growth. On these broad lines the study of the Classics is being pressed. The language of Homer is as living as that of Racine or Goethe. There can be no final Greek history any more than there can be a final translation of Homer. Each generation must have its own. The last had problems of democracy, dealt with by Mitford, Thirlwall, Grote. Now the problems are economic. Also there are fresh materials, travel, exploration, etc., at least as fast as they can be dealt with. The science which deals with all this must needs be living. Hittite sculpture is just

as vivid as a chemical formula. By this contact with reality every science must be judged.

The standard of research was never higher than it is to-day. Grammar cannot rightly be despised, when it is not an end in itself, but is rather a way to a knowledge of men who in a spiritual sense are the fathers that begat us. Dr. Leaf declared that he had constantly found points of contact with the Classics in his daily life. The rest of his address he devoted to two illustrations of this sort of contact. The first was an epigram of Theocritus, apparently written as the advertisement for a banking-house: 'To natives and to strangers this bank gives equal dealing. . . . Caicus pays foreign moneys at request, even by night'. This opens up very interesting questions concerning ancient banking, exchange, possibility of letters of credit, etc. The second instance was the interesting history of a great banking-house at Assos, of which Hermias, the friend of Aristotle, became the head. This history was recently made much clearer by the discovery of a papyrus. Dr. Leaf said he felt a professional pride in Hermias.

The afternoon session of August 3 was assigned to a debate on The Best Method of Strengthening the Classics in English and American Education. Professor Harrower, of Aberdeen, who opened the debate, gave a very interesting and witty account of the problems of Greek at Aberdeen University, which would be much appreciated by University teachers in America. He distributed copies of a circular on the Course in Greek History, Literature and Art in Aberdeen University for non-Greek students. He dealt with various suggestions that had been made to aid the cause of Greek, and showed their insufficiency. He also made constructive suggestions, based on the experience of Aberdeen University, which there is not space to summarize here. The debate was carried over to the next afternoon. Among the many participants was Dr. Mackail. He spoke of the fifty-seven recommendations at the end of the Report referred to above, and urged all upholders of the Classics to concentrate upon three points, working (1) that Latin shall be a normal subject of the curriculum for all pupils in Public and Secondary Schools; (2) that Latin shall be retained or restored as a necessary subject in all Arts courses; and (3) that all teachers of Latin shall have a knowledge of Greek. The saving of the study of Greek would best be secured by (3); this opens the possibility of introducing Greek again in Schools. Dr. Mackail declared that the prospects of the Classics were never higher. All the materials of education, science included, are in the melting-pot. The Association, he said, can help in forming public opinion. We should show our faith by our works.

Professor Kenyon, in closing the debate, asked every one to study the Classical Report. Formerly Classics were protected. Now they are not protected anywhere, whereas other subjects are protected. Testimonials to the value of the Classics are available; therefore we have a right to appeal to the public not to let this valuable element in education perish.

On the evening of August 3, at a meeting in the Archaeological Museum, Mrs. Strong gave a most interesting illustrated lecture on The Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore, and Dr. Van Buren one on The Characteristics of Some Ancient Italian Cities.

At the morning session on August 4, Professor Housman read an extraordinarily brilliant paper on The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism. Dr. Conway, speaking of Livy as a Critical Historian, said that his subject had been suggested by a remark in the Presidential Address delivered at Newcastle by the

late Dr. W. Warde Fowler, to the effect that the imagination of the Romans exercised itself chiefly on great historical figures; hence he had turned to study again the early books of Livy. No one, he said, has ever claimed that Livy had the interest in small things that modern historians show. The discovery of ancient humanity is the object of classical study. We may thankfully accept what specialists can give, but we must always keep before us the great end and aim of our studies. Movements rather than people interested nineteenth century historians. They were not interested primarily, as Livy was, in men and women. Discussing the charge of carelessness so often made against Livy, Dr. Conway gave instances where the carelessness was that of modern critics—e. g. Madvig and Mommsen—not that of Livy himself. He next considered the care and insight of Livy in the study of character, e. g. in his treatment of the character of Scipio Africanus, the central figure of fourteen books, who illustrates the strength and the weakness of the Republic. We could not have reached our present verdict of Scipio without Livy. From Polybius we should have had an erroneous idea, wanting in light and shade.

On this day, too, Professor Calhoun, of the University of California, read a paper on The Early History of Crime and Criminal Law in Greece, and Mr. Cornford discussed The Unconscious Element in Literature and Philosophy.

On August 5 the following papers were presented: Elegiac Style, by Professor A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College; After Alexander, by Dr. T. Glover; Sappho and Timas, A Footnote in the History of Greek Poetry, by Mr. Edmonds; The Brighter Aspects of Merovingian Poetry, by Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University. The last named paper, which was read by proxy, described the poetry and the travels of Fortunatus, who flourished in the sixth century.

The last event of the meeting was a 'movie' production of the Oresteia of Aeschylus, as performed at Cambridge last December, with a lecture by Mr. J. Sheppard. This was so popular that a second performance had to be given.

There is no space to mention the various delightful entertainments. In conclusion, it may be remarked that opportunities were afforded of visiting the collection of ancient gems at Corpus Christi College, and of seeing some of the Greek and Latin manuscripts at the University Library.

Lord Milner was elected President for the coming year. The next meeting is to be held in January, at London.

BARNARD COLLEGE

GERTRUDE HIRST

HORACE, SERMONES 1.3.29-34 AGAIN A MATTER OF STYLE

To the examples of the repeated adversative conjunction, given by Professor Knapp in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.153-154, we may add the following: 1 Corinthians 7.11: And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

In Clifton Chapel, by Henry Newbolt, we find the following:

God send you fortune: yet be sure,
Among the lights that gleam and pass,
You'll live to follow none more pure
Than that which glows on yonder brass.
'Qui procul hinc', the legend's writ—
The frontier grave is far away—
'Qui ante diem perit:
Sed miles, sed pro patria'.

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